

Message Text

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ACTION CU-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7051
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SECSTATE FOR CU

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EO 11652: N/A
SUBJECT: BILATERAL COMMUNICATION ESSAY - REVISED

REFS: (A) BERLIN 1757, (B) USIA 8607

POST HERewith SUBMITS REVISED VERSION, APPROVED BY
AMBASSADOR, OF SUBJECT ESSAY, IN RESPONSE TO POINTS
RAISED IN REFTel B. ONLY SOME SECTIONS HAVE BEEN
DOWNGRADED TO UNCLASSIFIED. IN ADDITION TO NEW
CONSOLIDATED OPENING, POST CALLS ATTENTION TO
PARA 5 AND 8 WHICH RESPOND DIRECTLY TO POINTS RAISED
IN REFTel B.

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: "THE PREVAILING TENSIONS BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ARE
THE CONSEQUENCE OF SOME 30 YEARS OF ISOLATION AND ABSENCE
OF DIALOGUE, OF IDEOLOGY AND CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO
SOLVING THE ILLS OF MANKIND, OF GEOPOLITICAL

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CONSIDERATIONS, AND THE PRESSURES CREATED BY OPPOSING
MILITARY ALLIANCES. AFTER THREE DECADES OF MUTUAL
MISTRUST AND OPEN HOSTILITY, EPITOMIZING SOME OF THE MOST
EGREGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE COLD WAR, THE UNITED STATES AND
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS IN 1974. THAT LEGACY OF THE PAST, HOWEVER, HAS
BEEN ONLY PART OF THE BURDEN TO WEIGH HEAVILY ON THE NEW

RELATIONSHIP, EVEN IF SOME OF THE BITTERNESS HAS ERODED IN THE FEW SHORT YEARS SINCE RECOGNITION. FOR THERE ARE DEEPER AND MORE ELEMENTAL REASONS TO HINDER BILATERAL COMMUNICATIONS--REASONS ROOTED ESSENTIALLY IN BASICALLY DIFFERING CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY.

2. THE GDR IS A MARXIST STATE, WITH ONE DOMINANT PARTY, AND AN ALL-PERVASIVE STATE SECURITY APPARATUS, EXERCISING FIRM CONTROL OF THE MEDIA AND INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING. THE COMMUNICATION TENSIONS IN THE GDR ARE IN FACT NATURAL OUTGROWTHS OF ITS IDEOLOGY AND BEST ILLUSTRATED IN ITS MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS DEPICTED AS AN IMPERIALIST, MILITARY-DOMINATED POWER, UNJUST IN ITS TREATMENT OF MINORITIES, EXPLOITATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND BESET BY IRRECONCILABLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS--IN OTHER WORDS, ALL THE CONDITIONS ASCRIBED TO ADVANCED CAPITALIST STATES BY CLASSICAL MARXISM.

3. THE GDR IS A HIGHLY PROPAGANDA-ORIENTED STATE AND THE ONLY REMAINING ONE IN EAST EUROPE DISPLAYING BANNERS WITH SLOGANS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON A LARGE SCALE. THE SLOGANS EXHORT THE POPULACE TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM TOWARDS THE GDR AND FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION, THE GDR'S CLOSEST ALLY AND IDEOLOGICAL MODEL. FOR THE SOVIET UNION, THE GDR REPRESENTS THE WESTERN-MOST PRONG OF THE WARSAW PACT, WITH A MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE ON ITS SOIL. FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE GDR, THE SOVIET UNION IS THE PRIMARY SOURCE AND SUPPORT FOR STABILITY.

4. THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE THE MOTIVATION AS WELL AS THE PROJECTION OF THE OFFICIAL APPROACH OF THE GDR TO ITS CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES. AT THE SAME TIME, THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE THE VERY ONES WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO THE IMAGE OF THE GDR IN THE UNITED STATES, AND ARE SUPPLEMENTED BY OTHERS: THE EMPHASIS ON INTERNAL SECURITY, THE PROHIBITING OF THE CIRCULATION OF WESTERN NEWS MEDIA, THE JAMMING OF BROADCASTS, AND THE STRICT CURBS ON FOREIGN TRAVEL BY GDR CITIZENS SYMBOLIZED GROTESQUELY BY THE WALL, ERECTED 17 YEARS AGO TO BLOCK THE MASSIVE OUTFLOW OF DISAFFECTED EAST GERMANS, AND STILL TODAY THE EMBODIMENT OF THE GDR'S POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS." END UNCLASSIFIED

5. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR PRESS AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ARE MANIFOLD AND EMBRACE MANY FACETS WHICH IN MOST COUNTRIES WOULD BE CONSIDERED NORMAL EXTENSIONS OF EMBASSY PROGRAMS. THUS, PUBLICIZING ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE EMBASSY ITSELF, SUCH AS FILM

SHOWINGS, EXHIBITS, LECTURES AND THE LIBRARY IS RESTRICTED;
ALSO PROHIBITED IS THE DIRECT TRANSMISSION OF PRINTED
MATERIALS TO THE MEDIA, THE BROAD DISTRIBUTION OF WIRELESS
FILE TEXTS AND PUBLICATIONS, ACCESS TO OR PROGRAMMING IN
AMERICAN STUDIES CENTERS IN THE UNIVERSITIES, ACADEMIES
AND INSTITUTES, PLACEMENT OF FILM MATERIALS ON TELEVISION,
AND THE DIRECT MAILING OF EMBASSY INVITATIONS TO PRIMARY
AUDIENCES. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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6. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: YET, FOR ALL THE EVIDENT
WEAKNESSES WHICH EMERGE FROM THIS SEEMINGLY GRIM PICTURE,
THERE ARE ALSO STRENGTHS WHICH PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR
BILATERAL ENGAGEMENT IN THE INFORMATION AND CULTURAL
FIELDS. THERE IS THE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR AMERICAN
ACHIEVEMENTS, WHEREBY FOR OFFICIALDOM THERE IS, ON THE
ONE HAND, THE TRADITIONAL HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE LEADING
CAPITALIST ADVERSARY, AND ON THE OTHER, THE DESIRE FOR
CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT AND HIGH
LEVEL VISITS AND CONSULTATION. SUCH AMBIVALENCE DOES NOT
APPLY TO THE BROAD MASSES OF THE POPULATION, WHO ENTERTAIN
FOR THE UNITED STATES AN OVERWHELMING INTEREST, CURIOSITY
AND URGE FOR ENGAGEMENT, DEMONSTRABLY REVEALING THE
INEFFICACY OF THREE DECADES OF ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA.
MUCH OF THIS PROPAGANDA, PRIOR TO RECOGNITION, HAD BEEN,
AND CONTINUES TO BE, OFFSET BY WESTERN TELEVISION WHICH
REACHES ALMOST ALL PARTS OF THE GDR AND MAKES ITS
POPULATION PROBABLY THE BEST INFORMED IN EAST EUROPE OF
EVENTS IN THE WESTERN WORLD. THIS KNOWLEDGEABLE AWARENESS
OF THE WEST REPRESENTS BOTH THE MAJOR STRENGTH OF THE
BILATERAL COMMUNICATION RELATIONSHIP AND THE POINT OF

GREATEST VULNERABILITY, FOR THE POPULATION OF EAST GERMANY
HAS A HUNGER FOR ALL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND
CIVILIZATION FROM WHICH IT HAS BEEN SEPARATED FOR MORE
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THAN FOUR DECADES. END UNCLASSIFIED

7. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: THE PERFORMING ARTS,
PAINTING, DRAMA, FILMS, SOCIAL SCIENCES, LITERATURE, AND
EDUCATION AS DEVELOPED AND PRACTICED IN THE UNITED STATES
ARE OBJECTS OF HIGH INTEREST, EVEN OF SCHOLARLY RESEARCH,
AND REPRESENT AREAS WHERE INFORMATION AND CULTURAL
PROGRAMS CAN PROMOTE THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES WHICH
DIRECT THE OVERALL ACTIVITIES OF THE EMBASSY. SOME LEND
THEMSELVES APPROPRIATELY FOR IMPLEMENTATION BY THE
MEANS AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS AND CULTURAL SECTION,
ESPECIALLY INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION AND IMPROVED
HUMAN RIGHTS, OBJECTIVES SERVED BY THE VAST ARRAY OF
MATERIALS AND PROGRAMS WHICH REPRESENT INSTRUMENTS OF
COMMUNICATION--PRINTED MATERIALS, LIBRARY OUTREACH, VTRS,
ACADEMIC EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS,
EXHIBITS, SCIENTIFIC, SPORTS, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL
DELEGATIONS AND VOLUNTARY SPEAKERS. OTHER OBJECTIVES
ADDRESSED ARE IN THE AREA OF TRADE PROMOTION THROUGH
SUPPORT FOR TECHNICAL SEMINARS AND THE LEIPZIG FAIR WHICH
HELP PROMOTE BROADER UNDERSTANDING, EXPANSION OF U.S.
EXPORT SALES AND INTEGRATION OF THE GDR INTO THE WORLD
ECONOMY. EQUALLY VALID, IF MORE DIFFICULT, ARE
THE ISSUES RELATING TO THE POLITICAL-MILITARY BALANCE IN
CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE OBJECTIVE OF MORE CONSTRUCTIVE GDR
BEHAVIOR IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ADDRESSED BY GROUP
DISCUSSIONS WITH VISITING POLITICAL ANALYSTS EMPLOYING
ALSO MEDIA TECHNIQUES AT THE POST.

8. IN OUR LIMITED EXPERIENCE WITH THE GDR, WE HAVE
WITNESSED TWO CATEGORIES OF AUDIENCES FOR OUR PROGRAMS:
THE VERY FEW WITH WHOM THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL DIALOGUE, AND
THE VERY MANY WHO MUTELY OBSERVE. DESPITE THE RESTRICTIVE
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CONDITIONS AND OFFICIAL CLIMATE IN THE GDR, PROGRAMMING
WITH AUDIENCES OF THE FIRST CATEGORY TAKES PLACE,
ESSENTIALLY IN SEMINARS CONSISTING OF INTERNATIONALLY-
ORIENTED, IF MARXIST, SPECIALISTS SOPHISTICATED IN THE
GIVE-AND-TAKE OF EAST-WEST DEBATE. SOME OF THEM WILL BE
CLIENTS OF OUR LIBRARY OUTREACH AND VTR PROGRAMS OR

AMONG THE FORTUNATE FEW WHO EITHER THROUGH IV GRANTS OR ACADEMIC EXCHANGES ENCOUNTER THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AT FIRSTHAND. THESE ARE THE AUDIENCES ON WHOM ARE FOCUSED PROGRAMS PROJECTING THE STRENGTH AND RESPONSIVENESS OF U.S. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES. IN ACTIVITIES SUCH AS THESE, WHICH EXPAND OUR CONTACTS AND FLESH OUT ARS, THE PERSONAL CONTACT, WHETHER ONE-ON-ONE OR COLLECTIVE, WITH ITS INTELLECTUAL ENGAGEMENT AND ONGOING DIALOGUE REPRESENTS OUR GREATEST PROGRAM ASSET. THE SECOND CATEGORY OF AUDIENCE IS PRIMARILY FOR MASS EXPOSURE TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND ADDRESSED LARGELY THROUGH THE MEDIA OF EXHIBITS AND PERFORMING ARTS. CO-SPONSORED BY GDR ORGANS IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES, SUCH PROGRAMS INCLUDE FILM WEEKS, CONCERTS AND ART EXHIBITS, WHICH ARE PUBLICIZED AND TO WHICH THE PUBLIC HAS UNHINDERED ACCESS. THE SINGLE MOST-ATTENDED EVENT IS THE ANNUAL US EXHIBIT ADDRESSING AN ECONOMIC THEME AT THE LEIPZIG TRADE FAIR.

9. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THESE OBJECTIVES NECESSARILY REQUIRES A CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE, ACHIEVED THROUGH A DEGREE OF RECIPROCITY IN EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES. THIS IS ALREADY BEING ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE IREX PROGRAM, IS IMMINENT IN THE DRAFTS BEING COMPLETED BETWEEN THE TWO ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE, AND WILL

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RECEIVE FURTHER IMPETUS WHEN A CULTURAL AGREEMENT INCORPORATING A BROAD AND VARIED SPECTRUM OF BILATERAL EXCHANGES IS NEGOTIATED. EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, PRIVATELY ARRANGED AMERICAN TOURS FOR

ORCHESTRAS, MUSICAL ARTISTS, AND LITERARY FIGURES, AND THE
IMPRESSIVE DRESDEN ART EXHIBIT ENLARGE THE HORIZONS OF
AMERICANS ABOUT THE GDR AND THROUGH OPEN AND DIRECT
CONTACT IMPROVE BILATERAL COMMUNICATION. END LIMITED
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10. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: AS DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION HAS
PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK, PRESS AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
PROVIDE CONCRETE CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH BILATERAL
RELATIONS ADVANCE, AT THE SAME TIME INCREASING GDR
KNOWLEDGE OF OUR SOCIETY AND POLICIES AND IN
CONSEQUENCE PERMITTING FOR MORE INFORMED JUDGMENTS OF THE
UNITED STATES.

11. WHILE THERE CAN BE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE RATE AND
SCOPE OF PROGRESS IN ACHIEVING OUR GOALS, BEHIND THE
INIMICAL FACADE OF OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY LIES A NUMEROUS
AND RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE EAGER FOR CONTACT WITH AMERICAN
THOUGHT AND CULTURE, AND TO THIS END WE MUST PROCEED
WITH PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE
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AND STRENGTHEN MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. END TEXT
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